

CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T  
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INFORMATION FROM  
FOREIGN DOCUMENTS OR RADIO BROADCASTS

REPORT  
CD NO.

50X1-HUM

COUNTRY USSR  
SUBJECT Political - Party education  
HOW PUBLISHED Newspapers, periodicals  
WHERE PUBLISHED USSR  
DATE PUBLISHED 3 Jun 1950 - 14 Oct 1951  
LANGUAGE Russian

DATE OF INFORMATION 1950 - 1951

DATE DIST. 19 Mar 1952

NO. OF PAGES 17

SUPPLEMENT REPORT NO.

50X1-HUM

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REVIEW OF THE 1950 - 1951 SCHOOL YEAR  
IN THE USSR PARTY EDUCATION SYSTEM

The following study, based principally on information gathered from Soviet republic newspapers and the Moscow and Leningrad press, is a survey of the achievements and failures of the 1950 - 1951 school year in the USSR party education system. In conjunction with OO-W-17292, which dealt with the organization of the party education system and with the initial claims made for the 1950 - 1951 school year, it is designed to serve as a comprehensive review of a representative school year in the Soviet party education system. A short introductory section is devoted to an over-all consideration of the school year and to certain general features of the party education system itself, while the main body of the report is an examination of the concrete situation within the several union republics. The republics are arranged in the same order as in OO-W-17292 to facilitate comparison.

Numbers in parentheses refer to appended sources.

INTRODUCTION

From both the quantitative and qualitative points of view the party education system in the Soviet Union is said to make significant progress with each successive school year. According to the latest available information, the total number of persons embraced by the political education program in the 1950 - 1951 school year was "about 8 million." (1) Included in this total were "more than 2 million" nonparty people and 500,000 Komsomols. (2) The number of party members and candidates engaged in study came to 94.6 percent of the total personnel in USSR party organizations and represented an increase of 320,000 over the 1949 - 1950 figure (3), which has been given as "about 5 million." (4) Therefore, Communist participation in party education in 1950 - 1951 may be estimated as being in excess of 5 1/4 millions. Due to the inadequacy of statistics for 1949 - 1950, it is not possible to ascertain the over-all increase in the scope of the party education system last year over the previous year.

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The breakdown of the over 2 million nonparty people engaged in political study in 1950 - 1951 is as follows: about 900,000 in political schools and Lenin-Stalin biography circles; more than 660,000 in party history circles; 51,200 in rayon evening party schools and in evening universities of Marxism-Leninism; and more than 320,000 in independent study.(2) It will be observed that these figures total only 1,931,200 plus. However, the enumeration failed to take into account the nonparty people in such sectors of the party education system as circles for the study of historical and dialectical materialism, circles for the study of political economy, philosophy circles, 2-year party schools under city, oblast, and kray party committees, and higher party schools under republic central committees.

One of the factors adduced as evidence of the qualitative improvement of the 1950 - 1951 school year in the USSR party education system is the relative increase between 1950 - 1951 and 1949 - 1950 in the number of Communists studying at the more advanced levels of political training. Thus, although the number of political schools increased by 11 percent in 1950 - 1951, Communists enrolled in them decreased by 14 percent; on the other hand, Communist enrollment in party history circles increased by 25 percent.(5) While the number of Communists engaged in independent study, "the most fundamental method of training in Marxism-Leninism," has almost doubled over the past 5 years, in 1950 - 1951 approximately 30 percent of the total USSR party membership studied independently, with the heaviest concentration of such students being in large Soviet cities.(6) This represented an increase of almost 13 percent over the 1949 - 1950 figure.(3) More than 40 percent of the total party membership studied either independently, in advanced party history circles, in circles for the study of historical and dialectical materialism, in evening party schools, or in evening universities.(7)

Following standard Soviet practice, articles in the press on the progress and results of the 1950 - 1951 school year in the several union republics and in the Soviet Union as a whole invariably begin with favorable comments both on the numbers of people engaged in study and on the students' mastery of their subjects. Then follows an enumeration of shortcomings, which usually comprises the major portion of such reports. When certain shortcomings are repeatedly stressed, and when actual data are given to emphasize their seriousness, it may be considered that they no longer appear merely as conventional concessions to the Soviet practice of "criticism and self-criticism" in reporting on any activity in the Soviet Union, but can perhaps be used as the basis for appraising the real accomplishments of the party education system.

For example, the number of people enrolled in party education courses must be considered in relation to continual press references to students dropping out of study, to courses breaking down, to poor and irregular student attendance, and to numbers of independent students who are students on registration lists only. In like manner, the achievements in study claimed for party education students must be considered against the background of frequent complaints about the lack of well-qualified propagandists and consultants, the low ideological level of instruction, and the nonfulfillment of study plans.

From these considerations a number of observations may be made. Firstly, it appears that the party overreaches itself in demanding at the beginning of the school year that all Communists and an increasing number of nonparty persons enroll in party education courses, without having an adequate number of instructors qualified to carry out the requirements of the study plans. The situation in regard to independent study last year, which bore the heaviest brunt of official criticism, illustrates that even in sheer numbers of consultants alone, party desires and capabilities could not be reconciled. With the emphasis being on individual consultations, it is considered that one consultant should be in charge of from five to eight students.(8) However, with a

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total of "more than 130,000 consultants in the 1950 - 1951 school year to over 2 million independent students (9), the average number of students assigned to one consultant would be at least 15. Secondly, it is not unlikely that shortcomings in the party education system which result from the lack of student cooperation may be unavoidable in a system in which students are obtained under pressure and in which the levels at which they are to study are for the most part determined for them. Lastly, the fact that political study is a responsibility in addition to the regular work of both the student and propagandist would tend to make the aspirations of the political education system difficult to achieve in actuality.

RSFSR

## 1. Moscow Oblast

Ninety-three percent of the members of the Moscow Oblast party organizations were engaged in political study in the 1950 - 1951 school year. Compared with the 1949 - 1950 school year, the number of Communists in political schools and elementary circles decreased, while the number of students in advanced circles increased four to five times; a considerably larger number of Communists were engaged in independent study last year.(10) Thirty-five thousand Komsomols were in the party education network.(11)

Total Communist enrollment in political schools was in excess of 50,000. Over 55,000 Communists studied in 5,257 advanced circles, and more than 178,000 Communists studied independently. There were about 55,000 propagandists for the school system in 1950 - 1951; about 70 percent of the leaders of political schools and circles had a higher education and more than 3 years' experience as propagandists. Directing independent study were 11,560 nonstaff consultants and 4,160 seminar leaders.(12)

Progress in the 1950 - 1951 school year in party education in Moscow Oblast was declared to be generally good. Shortcomings noted in the conduct of political schools included interruption and total breakdown of study in some schools, poor attendance, and the incidence of students dropping out before the end of the school year. Some rayon party committees were criticized for not having trained their propagandists well and for not having controlled the work of political schools properly. Although a majority of circles completed the school year successfully, serious deficiencies were found in the work of elementary history circles. Thirty elementary circles in Ramenskiy Rayon, for example, failed to fulfill their study plans. These shortcomings were partly the result of the insufficient training of propagandists and of errors in recruiting students for study in circles. Although the overwhelming majority of independent students fulfill their study plans, many Communists did not fulfill their study programs, because of lack of control over their work by certain city and rayon party committees and defects in the organization of independent study -- individual consultations being subordinated to group consultations, which in effect transformed independent study into circle study. Unsatisfactory recruitment, ideologically poor lectures, and low student attendance were the shortcomings attributed to some evening universities of Marxism-Leninism and evening party schools in Moscow Oblast.(13)

## 2. Moscow City

The 1950 - 1951 school year in party education in the city of Moscow embraced over half a million persons.(14) This total included 387,000 Communists, or 90 percent of the membership of the city party organization.(15) The number of persons in the evening university, in advanced history circles, and in independent study exceeded the 1949 - 1950 figure by 40,000.(14)

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Of the Communists engaged in political education, over 37 percent studied independently. (14) To aid these students 550 series of lectures were organized. (16) Over 3,000 political schools were in operation in Moscow (16), with an enrollment which included 22,000 Communists. (15) Elementary history and biography circles, in which 132,000 Communists studied (15), numbered over 14,000. (16) More than 40,000 persons completed the study of the Short Course, History of the VKP(b) in advanced circles and independently. (17) The 93 evening party schools, organized under the rayon party committees and larger enterprises of Moscow, trained over 8,000 persons, mainly secretaries of rayon party committees and primary party organizations, trade union leaders, and Komsomol workers. (15) Rayon evening party schools graduated 3,500 persons at the end of the school year. (17)

Toward the end of March 1951 the Moscow press reported that over 18,000 people were studying at the Moscow Evening University of Marxism-Leninism and its 25 affiliates. (15) Subsequent references to the evening university, however, gave the total enrollment as over 16,000, of whom there were more than 2,000 secretaries, deputy secretaries, and members of the bureaus of primary party organizations, over 6,000 leading workers of ministries and enterprises, and "many" teachers, artists, scientists, and instructors at higher educational institutions. (18, 19) About 6,500 persons graduated from the university in the 1950 - 1951 school year. (17)

The reason for the discrepancy between the early and later figures for the enrollment at the Moscow Evening University may be that the later reports took into account the number of students -- a reported 12 percent of the total enrollment -- who dropped out during the school year. (19) Poor attendance at the university was also noted in the Moscow press, and the poor quality of many lectures sharply criticized. To help students pass their examinations, individual and group consultations were organized near the end of the school year and additional days allotted for taking examinations. (18, 19)

A general statement on the 1950 - 1951 school year in the Moscow party education system pointed out that more than 100 political schools and circles had suspended operation during the year, and that 7 percent of all political schools and circles did not fulfill their study plans. The low ideological-political level of study in various political schools and circles and the incompetence of many propagandists were termed the most basic of all shortcomings in these forms of study. The report went on to say, however, that there were probably more defects in the system of independent study than in any other form. (15)

### 3. Leningrad City and Oblast

Almost 95 percent of the Communist Party membership and over 128,000 nonparty active workers (aktivisty) were engaged in political study in the city of Leningrad in 1950 - 1951. (17) No final figures are available for the overall student enrollment in Leningrad Oblast or for the number of persons on any but a few of the levels of the party education system in Leningrad City and Oblast.

While there were 639 political schools, 1,358 history circles -- including 300 of the advanced type -- and 320 biography circles in Leningrad Oblast during 1950 - 1951 (20), Leningrad City and Oblast had a combined total of 1,734 political schools, 5,896 history circles -- including 1,220 of the advanced type -- and 2,565 biography circles. About half of the party personnel in Leningrad Oblast and City were engaged in independent study; 9,800 consultants were assigned to direct their study. (7)

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Over the past 5 years the Evening Party School under the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee has trained and retrained in its regular 2-year course and 9-month courses more than 3,000 party, soviet, and Komsomol workers. In the 1950 - 1951 school year there were 776 graduates -- 250 from the 2-year course, 50 from the 9-month course, and 476 from the one-month courses designed for retraining propagandists. Graduates of the 2-year course included 160 party workers, 53 of whom were rayon and city party workers, 23 soviet workers, 26 Komsomols, and 41 newspaper workers, of whom 27 were editors. In addition to their formal study, students of the Evening Party School participated in practical party work. For example, more than 70 persons in the second-year course worked as consultants in the party education system, 25 were propagandists for elementary and advanced circles, and over 50 helped the Leningrad City Party Committee and the Smol'ninskiy Rayon Party Committee check on the work of primary party organizations. Students of the Evening Party School also participated directly in the conduct of mass agitation work in the loan subscription campaign and in the period of the elections to the Supreme Soviets USSR and RSFSR and to the local soviets. The importance of the Evening Party School under the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee is demonstrated by the fact that party and soviet workers from 12 oblasts of the RSFSR and from the Karelo-Finnish, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian republics were engaged in study there. (21)

More than 5,500 leading party, soviet, and Komsomol workers graduated from the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism under the Leningrad City Party Committee over the past 2 years. (7) In 1950 - 1951 there were 2,400 graduates, with 2,700 passing on from the first- to the second-year course. The university and its affiliates and correspondence division had a total enrollment in excess of 7,000. (22) The 1950 - 1951 school year saw the establishment of a new correspondence division for the rural intelligentsia. (7)

While the results of party education in the 1950 - 1951 school year in Leningrad City and Oblast were considered satisfactory on the whole, serious shortcomings in the content and organization of political study were noted. Many lectures, consultations, and lessons in schools and circles were found to be deficient in profundity of approach, and some party organizations reportedly ignored instances of an indifferent attitude on the part of Communists to political study. Criticism was directed against propagandists who failed to attend seminars to increase their political maturity. Os'minskiy, Priozerskiy, Lesogorskiy, Vyborgskiy, and Pashskiy rayon party committees were scored for not having ensured the timely fulfillment of study plans in circles and political schools. Party control over independent study continued to be inadequate; many persons registered as independent students of Marxism, Leninism in reality did no work at all. (7)

Information on party education in other parts of the RSFSR is scattered and meager. Of interest, however, are the reports on the situation in regard to independent study in Saratov and Pskov oblasts which appeared in an article in Bol'shevik and in an editorial in Pravda, both of which dealt with the overall situation in the system of independent study. According to the Bol'shevik article, up to 30 percent of the Communists who were supposedly engaged in independent study in Saratov Oblast had not begun to study by March 1951 (23), while the Pravda editorial on 11 September 1951 charged that "not less than half" of the Communists registered as independent students had not worked at all during the 1950 - 1951 school year.

#### Armenian SSR

In the 1950 - 1951 school year more than 34,000 Communists studied in political schools and circles in the Armenian SSR, and over 20,000 Communists were engaged in independent study (24), 7,000 of them in Yerevan. (25) The overall party education system embraced 7,300 Komsomols and up to 10,000 nonparty

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people. Two hundred forty-four persons studied in the Higher Party School under the TsK KP(b) of the Armenian SSR, and 144 in its correspondence division. (24) The Higher Party School under the republic central committee graduated 130 persons, bringing the total number of graduates over the past 5 years to 550. (26)

The Evening University of Marxism-Leninism under the Yerevan City Party Committee, with five affiliates attached to rayon party committees and to large enterprises in the capital, had a total enrollment of 1,800, of which 570 were secretaries, assistant secretaries, and members of the bureaus of primary party organizations, 275 were propagandists, 250 were leading workers of ministries, soviets, and trade unions, and 520 were scientific workers and vuz (higher educational institution) instructors. (27)

Toward the very end of the school year, the organization and conduct of classes at the Yerevan Evening University were sharply criticized in an article in Kommunist (28) which stated that some lectures and seminars were not conducted on a sufficiently high ideological level and study lists and instructors were frequently changed. The article went on to say that due to the inefficiency of the university administration and to poor control on the part of primary party organizations and rayon party committees, "a considerable number" of students abandoned study during the school year. It noted that in addition some students did not pass the examinations, others were not permitted to take them, and still others simply did not appear for them. The article emphasized that primary party organizations and rayon party committees played a vital role in ensuring that all students pass the examinations and that these party organizations must create "suitable conditions" for university students to enable them to pass their examinations before 7 July 1951. From the above article it appears that many students who did not take their examinations at the designated time and those who failed the first time were given another opportunity in examinations held after the normal date of the end of the school year in urban areas, 30 June. (27)

#### Azerbaydzhan SSR

The 1950 - 1951 school year in party education embraced almost all Communists in Azerbaydzhan SSR and more than 37,000 nonparty people. (29) A total of 6,850 propagandists conducted the studies; 2,077 of these propagandists had taken one-, 2-, and 3-month training and retraining courses in the summer of 1950 under city and oblast party committees and the TsK KP(b) of Azerbaydzhan. (30)

Of the total number of 24,516 persons who studied in the republic's 1,692 political schools, 18,121 were Communists. An estimated 1,615 political schools successfully completed their annual study programs. Some 2,145 elementary circles and 625 advanced circles for the study of party history trained 30,728 and 8,244 persons, respectively. A majority of these circles fulfilled their study plans. The 1,538 biography circles had a total enrollment of 26,611, about 9,000 persons of whom were nonparty people. Although no figures are available for the number of, or the total enrollment in, rayon evening party schools, all such schools were reported to have successfully completed their study plans. (30)

Some 2,091 persons studied in the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism at Baku, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, and Stepanakert. The 10 - 11 August 1951 Plenum of the Azerbaydzhan Central Committee found "basic deficiencies" in the work of evening universities: ineffectual control by party organizations over the ideological content of lectures and seminars, poor student attendance, abandonment of study by a large number of persons, and nonfulfillment of the requirements of the study program by many students. Specific criticism was directed

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against conditions in the Nakhichevan Evening University, with the major share of the blame for the nonfulfillment of the study program falling on the Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee and, in particular, on its secretary, Aliyev, who "has of late handled questions of propaganda and agitation extremely poorly." (30)

A report in July 1951 on the Baku Evening University pointed out that attendance for the 1950 - 1951 school year was still low -- not over 60-70 percent of the total enrollment -- and that some students had dropped out completely, others had not appeared for examinations, and a number had been dismissed because of poor attendance and failure to pass examinations. (31)

The Central Committee Plenum referred to above termed independent study "still one of the most backward sections" of party education, stating "Many rayon party committees and primary party organizations do not provide the necessary aid to independent students of theory and do not practice daily control over their work. A considerable number of independent students of Bolshevik theory and history in reality do nothing to raise their ideological-theoretical level." The plenum found that independent study was poorly organized in the Gorodskoy rayon of the city of Baku, where the rayon party committee did not ensure that a sufficient number of consultants were chosen to aid independent students and where a majority of such students had no individual study programs. (30)

The plenum determined that the most basic shortcoming in the 1950 - 1951 school year in the Azerbaydzhan party education system was that in many instances political study in schools and circles was divorced from consideration of practical tasks and amounted to learning by rote one or another historical fact or theoretical proposition, thus violating the "most important Bolshevik principle" of uniting theory with practical experience. (30)

#### Belorussian SSR

Little information is available on the 1950 - 1951 school year in the Belorussian SSR beyond that [redacted] Worthy of note is the discrepancy between the "more than 300,000" figure cited in OO-W-17292 for the total number of people engaged in political study in 1950 - 1951 and a report in the Belorussian press in July 1951 which gave that total as "about 200,000." (32) A comparison of the statistics given for the number of political schools and circles under the Minsk party organization at the beginning of the school year and several months later may serve as an indication that many initial estimates were greatly exaggerated. Sovetskaya Belorussiya, 20 September 1950, reported that 298 political schools and 710 circles for the study of party history would be set up in Minsk in 1950 - 1951; the same newspaper on 29 December 1950, however, stated that 173 political schools and 637 history circles were then operating in Minsk.

The Higher Party School under the TsK KP(b) of Belorussia graduated 382 persons in 1950 - 1951, which brought the total number of graduates during the past 4 years to 1,500. A considerable number of last year's graduates received grades of "good" and "excellent" on the state examinations. Some 1,648 persons completed 9-month refresher courses at the Higher Party School. (33)

The Gomel' Oblast and Minsk party organizations have been sharply censured in the republic press for poor work with intellectuals in the 1950 - 1951 school year. The indifference of the Gomel' Oblast Party Committee to the political training of the intelligentsia was cited as the reason for the breakdown of study in many circles, especially those under the oblast soviet Agricultural

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Administration, Finance Division, and Public Health Division, in which, it was reported, the majority of the oblast's intellectuals are concentrated. Independent study by the intelligentsia of the city of Gomel' was also considered highly unsatisfactory.

Although approximately 2,000 persons, the majority of the city's intellectuals, were registered as independent students, only one third of that number fulfilled their individual study plans. In addition, it was found that a large number of students had dropped out of the Gomel' Evening University during the school year -- 180 for "various reasons," many others because "normal conditions had not been established" for their study. An example of the absence of "normal conditions" was provided by the deputy chief of the oblast soviet Agricultural Administration, who reported that he was forced to abandon study because of the frequency with which the oblast party committee would call him out of class to obtain information from him. Last year, the oblast party committee opened an affiliate of the evening university in Rechitsa, but because of the committee's failure to provide the affiliate with an adequate number of instructors, classes frequently broke down.(34)

A "considerable number" of Minsk intellectuals were not drawn into party education in 1950 - 1951, and many who were enrolled in the various sections of the system attended classes irregularly. The most serious shortcoming in the conduct of party education for the intelligentsia of Minsk was the low ideological level of political studies.(35)

A survey of the over-all situation in the party education system in Belorussia in 1950 - 1951 pointed to independent study as the weakest of all the forms of political study. Not enough emphasis had been placed on the individual needs of the students, many persons having been assigned identical reading lists and given the same deadlines for completing their readings. Party organizations had not properly supervised independent study, which led to the fact that many Communists registered as independent students did not read a single work on Marxism-Leninism. Specific censure for its poor supervision over independent study was meted out to the Brest Oblast Party Committee.(36)

#### Estonian SSR

No total figures are available for persons engaged in political education in Estonia in 1950 - 1951.

The Evening University of Marxism-Leninism under the Tallin City Party Committee graduated 173 persons at the end of the last school year, and it was anticipated that, in addition, over 25 would complete their studies in the autumn of 1951. Seventy-four party members and candidates were among the graduates. Over the past 5 years about 900 people have completed courses at the university.(37)

In the city of Tallin 1,028 Communists served in the political education system as lecturers, propagandists, seminar leaders, consultants, and specialists in teaching methodology. Four lecture cycles were organized for students of Bolshevik theory on the history of the VKP(b), philosophy, political economy, foreign policy of the USSR, and contemporary international relations. Figures for the number of students engaged in political education in Tallin are available only for those pursuing independent study, totaling 1,284.(38)

In his report to the Seventh Tallin City Party Conference, held on 24 - 25 March 1951, A. Koryundel', secretary of the Tallin City Party Committee, pointed to "many basic shortcomings" in the conduct of party education last year. Among

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them, he stated, were the weak control by party organizations over the ideological content of lectures, the low ideological level of study in a number of political schools and circles, the poor attendance, not exceeding 50 percent of total enrollment, in political schools and circles in many industrial enterprises and institutions, and instances of complete breakdown of study. (38)

A unique phenomenon in the Soviet party education system was the appearance in the Estonian press in July 1951 of advertisements for students for the Evening University under the Tallin City Party Committee (39) and for the Evening University under the Tallin Officers' Garrison House. (40) Apparently, party organizations in Tallin are unable to carry out successfully their recruitment responsibilities, and this may be an indication of continuing organizational weakness of the Communist Party in Estonia. (41)

#### Georgian SSR

Statistics for party education in the Georgian SSR in 1950 - 1951 are limited almost exclusively to the city of Tbilisi, where a reported 37,500 party members and candidates, or 91 percent of all Communists in the city's party organization, were engaged in political training. In addition, 2,200 Komsomols and about 5,000 nonparty people studied in the various forms of the political education system in Tbilisi. Twenty thousand persons undertook independent study, while 870 political schools and circles trained 16,500 persons. The Evening University, with its five affiliates, had an enrollment of 1,834. (42)

Tbilisi had six times as many advanced party history circles last year as it had in 1949 - 1950. Circles for the study of dialectical and historical materialism were in operation for the first time last year. Some 2,625 propagandists and consultants were assigned to direct circles and give guidance to independent students. (42)

All of the 147 students of the final (second-year) course at the Higher Party School under the TsK KP(b) of Georgia passed the examinations and received diplomas. Thirty-six persons graduated with "honors." (43)

A conference of the heads of propaganda and agitation sections of oblast, city, and rayon party committees in the Georgian SSR, held in the middle of September 1951, found that the main shortcoming in the party education system last year was the unsatisfactory work of some party organizations in their guidance of independent study. The usual deficiencies in the conduct of independent study were cited. (44)

#### Karelo-Finnish SSR

Information on party education in the Karelo-Finnish SSR last year is very meager. The republic press in May 1951 revealed that 269 political schools, 815 circles for the study of party history and theory, and 33 evening party schools were in operation in 1950 - 1951. It was noted that in Ruzozerskiy, Segozerskiy, Olonetskiy, and several other rayons, where study in political schools and circles had frequently broken down during the school year, instructors were speeding up work in order to cover all the material on time. This procedure was sharply criticized, it being recommended that, instead of these disorganized speed-ups, courses should either be extended beyond the normal end of the school year or, in cases where study was greatly behind schedule, some of the material should be absorbed into the program of the coming year. "Especially serious shortcomings" were noted in the conduct of independent study. (45)

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At the beginning of the 1950 - 1951 school year the Kazakh SSR press reported that 11,868 political schools and circles, 275 rayon party schools, and 17 evening universities had been set up, and that 95.5 percent of the republic's Communists were engaged in political study.(46) The only subsequent statistical information on the over-all party education system in the republic is that the 17 evening universities together had a total enrollment of more than 6,000.(47)

About 19,000 Communists and 7,000 nonparty people studied last year in the city of Alma-Ata, 5,000 of the total number studying independently. More than 800 persons worked as propagandists for circles and political schools.(48)

Criticism of shortcomings in political study was focused, for the most part, on unqualified propagandists, poor supervision of independent study, and poor attendance in political schools and circles. A considerable number of political schools and circles in "many rayons of several oblasts" were found to be lacking in well-trained propagandists, and seminars for propagandists were rarely held.(49) Party organizations in Gur'ye and Aktyubinsk oblasts, in particular, were said to be remiss in obtaining qualified propagandists for their political schools and circles, and, as a result, courses were conducted on a low ideological level, and many students abandoned study.(50)

As far as independent study was concerned, special lectures were poorly organized and consultants' aid to students inadequate.(51) Because of the lack of proper control over independent study, a number of Communists supposedly studying independently in reality did no work. This was true particularly in East Kazakhstan and Akmolinsk oblasts.(50)

In preparing for the new (1951 - 1952) school year, party organizations were warned against repeating the mistake, which many made in 1950 - 1951, of recruiting students on a mass, "mechanical" basis, without regard for the general educational and political background of each individual. This incorrect method of recruitment was given as one of the reasons for poor student attendance and unsatisfactory progress in many instances.(51)

Kirgiz SSR

There were 1,011 circles for the study of the biographies of Lenin and Stalin, with an enrollment of more than 13,000 Communists and nonparty people, and over 13,000 independent students. These are the only over-all figures published for the 1950 - 1951 party education system in the Kirgiz SSR.(52)

Over the past 5 years 589 people have graduated from the Higher Party School under the republic central committee. In 1950 - 1951, 149 graduated (116 men and 33 women) and 39 completed the 9-month retraining course. Of the graduates, 68 percent were Kirgiz, the remainder being Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Kazakhs, and others. The State Examining Commission announced that a majority of the students demonstrated a profound knowledge of their subjects on their examinations.(53)

In Dzhahal-Abad Oblast in 1950 - 1951 there were three city and ten rayon evening party schools, 179 basic history circles, 16 advanced circles, 124 political schools, and 168 biography circles.(54)

In evaluating the progress of the school year, A. Kazanskiy, Deputy Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the TsK KP(b) of Kirgiz SSR, reported that courses in many circles and political schools were on a low ideological level and failed to keep up with the study programs. Some rayon party schools

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and a large number of circles and political schools had not fulfilled their programs by the end of the school year. Also, many independent students did not meet the requirements of their study plans. Serious shortcomings in the direction of party education were imputed to the Talass and Issyk-Kul' oblast party committees, while the Osh and Dzhahal-Abad oblast party committees were criticized for having sent many propagandists from their schools and circles on party assignments for prolonged periods of time.(52)

#### Latvian SSR

More than 95 percent of the Communists in party organizations of the Latvian SSR were engaged in political study in 1950 - 1951, and more than 12,000 of them studied independently. The various forms of political study included 854 political schools, 1,322 circles of the basic and advanced type, 175 biography circles, 74 evening party schools under rayon and city party committees, and 3 evening universities. The number of nonparty active workers participating in political education was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times greater than in the previous year.(55)

In the city of Riga the number of rayon evening party schools increased last year from nine to 13, and the number of students almost doubled. The number of advanced history circles was "somewhat higher" and 14 circles devoted to dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, USSR foreign policy, and international relations were set up. About 3,800 persons studied independently. The Riga Evening University and its affiliates had a total enrollment in excess of 3,000. Increasing numbers of nonparty workers, especially those belonging to the intelligentsia, participated in party education (the 15,440 of 1950 - 1951 represented an increase of 3,000 over the previous year's total).(56)

The three evening universities under the Riga, Daugavpils, and Lijepaya city party committees together had a total enrollment of about 3,500 persons, among whom there were 1,844 party members and candidates. Considering that there were over 3,000 students in the Riga Evening University (3,200, according to *Sovetskaya Latvija*, 19 April 1951), enrollment at the other two universities was of necessity very small. And it seems from the following that this small enrollment neither resulted from a careful selection of students nor proved to be advantageous for the work of these two universities: In Daugavpils University 15 students had no secondary education and a "considerable number" of students dropped out during the 1950 - 1951 school year; in Lijepaya University those who discontinued study "for no valid reason or because of academic ineptitude" numbered 81. Some of the lectures in all three evening universities were reported to be on a low ideological level. An example of this "low ideological level" was furnished by the criticism directed at a certain lecturer who failed to reveal the priority of Russian scientists in many of the most important scientific discoveries.(57)

According to O. Strod, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the TsK KP(b) of Latvia, the main error made by party organizations in the 1950 - 1951 party education system was their underestimation of the essential role performed by the propagandist. Strod stated that rural party organizations, in particular, often assigned Communists with insufficient political training and teaching experience as propagandists. The value of seminars for propagandists was also underrated by rayon party committees, he said. Staffing the political education network with unqualified propagandists brought about the result that "students of political schools and circles were inadequately trained in the spirit of Bolshevik vigilance and irreconcilability with all manifestations of remnants of capitalism and bourgeois ideology."

Independent study was termed by Strod the weakest link in the party education system. In the city of Riga, he said, around 40 percent of the independent students failed to fulfill their individual study plans. Many consultants

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substituted group consultations for individual interviews, and in Liyepaya all Communists were given the same reading lists and the same deadlines for covering the prescribed material.(58)

An over-all survey on party education in Riga showed that, while there was some improvement in the organization of political study in 1950 - 1951, the ideological level of courses was in general low, student attendance poor, and rayon seminars for propagandists poorly attended. The year's study plans were not fulfilled by 130 of the city's political schools and circles.(56)

In the Stalinskiy Rayon of Riga the inadequate general education background of a "great number of young Communists" was viewed as a serious obstacle to their mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the raising of their professional qualifications. Many Communists and Komsomols lagged behind in their studies in the 1950 - 1951 school year in the party and Komsomol political education system because of their poor academic preparation. "Dozens of members and candidates of the party" were found not to have even a seventh-grade education.(59)

#### Lithuanian SSR

The various forms of party education in the Lithuanian SSR in 1950 - 1951 embraced 94 percent of the republic's Communists and a "considerable number" of nonparty people.(60) This is the only over-all figure reported for Lithuania.

In Vil'nyus Oblast about 25,000 Communists and nonparty people engaged in party education, and 756 propagandists directed the studies. Improvement in party organizational and party political work and the more successful solution of economic tasks by many rayon party organizations were reported to be some of the results of the party education program. Some rayon party committees, however, were accused of having directed study in political schools and circles in a superficial manner. The work of many circles was suspended last year because of the frequency with which propagandists were sent away on party missions. In Druskininkskiy, Anikshchayaskiy, Varenskiy, Eyabishkskiy, Nemenchinskiy, and Shal'chininkskiy rayons, the organization of study was completely unsatisfactory, and, consequently, the operation of many circles and schools broke down.(61)

#### Moldavian SSR

Statistics for party education in the Moldavian SSR provide one with the unique opportunity of estimating, however approximately, the number of people in a republic who unsuccessfully pursued the party education program in 1950 - 1951.

In his report to the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Moldavia, 30 March 1951, L. I. Brezhnev, secretary of the TsK KP(b) of Moldavia, announced that more than 29,000 Communists, or 94 percent of the republic's total, and over 30,000 nonparty people were studying in the party education network during the 1950 - 1951 year.(62) An April press report confirmed these figures, placing, incidentally, virtually all the nonparty people in political schools and circles.(63) On 6 May 1951, it was stated that more than 58,000 people were engaged in party education, an increase of 25,000 over the 1949 - 1950 total.(66)

In August 1951, however, K. Chernenko, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the TsK KP(b) of Moldavia, reported that 53,000 persons, including 25,000 Communists, had completed the school year and successfully fulfilled their study programs.(64) Thus, it would appear that some 6,000-7,000

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-- over 4,000 Communists, the rest nonparty people -- of those who enrolled in party education courses either dropped out of study, failed examinations, or failed in other ways to meet the requirements of the study plans. This number would be much greater, of course, if the claim made in September 1951 by A. Medvedev, head of the Propaganda Sector of the TsK KP(b) of Moldavia, that more than 66,000 Communists and nonparty people studied in schools, circles, and independently during the last school year is a more accurate estimate than the previous reports. (65)

Evening universities of Marxism-Leninism were in operation in four large cities of the republic, a new one having been set up under the Bendery City Party Committee. (66) Student enrollment was more than doubled in 1950 - 1951. (68) Kishinev Evening University, with an enrollment of 2,000, graduated 550 persons, 300 of whom were party and soviet workers. Eighty percent of the graduates received "excellent" or "good" on examinations; 130 received "excellent" for all subjects. More than a thousand were promoted to the second-year course, 80 percent of them receiving "good" or "excellent" on examinations. (67)

The Moldavian SSR press has been very critical of the conduct of study at evening universities. Foremost among its grievances are the poor instruction, low attendance, and the dropping out of students at these schools. Of the Bel'tsy Evening University it was reported that almost one third of the students abandoned study long before the end of the school year. (68) More than 300 students of Kishinev University had not passed their examinations by the designated dates; over 100 persons discontinued study and were dismissed from the university. (67) Up to 40 percent of the students failed to attend seminars. (68) Serious shortcomings were noted in the ideological content of lectures and seminars, and party organizations of Kishinev were criticized for having overburdened some instructors with direct production work and other assignments. (67)

The Republic Party School under the TsK KP(b) of Moldavia in 1951 celebrated the fifth anniversary of its founding. More than 700 persons have graduated since its inception, last year's number totaling 139. (69)

The Moldavian SSR press noted many deficiencies in the over-all situation in party education in 1950 - 1951. The lack of qualified propagandists for all schools and circles was held responsible for the fact that many courses of study were conducted on a low ideological level. Some instructors were found to be lacking in "political acuity and passion in exposing the "predatory character of American-English imperialism." (64) In a number of rayons study in political schools and circles frequently broke down, and, as a result, study plans remained unfulfilled. In April 1951, for example, it was reported that not one political school in Rezenskiy Rayon was meeting its requirements. (63)

The conduct of independent study was found to be deficient also. Consultants were reprimanded for their "formalist approach" to the system, and party organizations were criticized for not controlling closely the work of consultants and students. Instances were pointed out in which persons registered as independent students were doing no work at all. (63, 64, 70)

#### Tadzhik SSR

More than 45,000 Communists, nonparty people, and Komsomols studied in the 1950 - 1951 party education system in Tadzhik SSR. Approximately 5,000 Communists studied independently, over 6,000 were in political schools, and 6,739 studied in history circles. "Thousands of persons" received instruction in biography circles, while rayon party schools and evening universities of Marxism-Leninism accounted for 2,951 people. (71) The Higher Party School under the republic central committee graduated 94 persons, among whom were 77 Tadzhiki and seven Uzbeks. (72)

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In Leninabad and Stalinabad oblasts many political schools and circles were poorly attended, seminars for propagandists were held irregularly, and insufficient aid was given to independent students. Poor attendance was also noted for the Stalinabad Evening University.(72) Twenty-five percent of the political schools and circles of Leninabad Oblast did not complete their study programs. Lack of control by party organizations was considered responsible for the fact that 120 students dropped out of the Leninabad Evening University. Schools and circles in Leninabad Oblast were lacking in sufficient texts and visual aids for students.(73)

Turkmen SSR

About 35,000 persons were in the party education system in Turkmen SSR in 1950 - 1951.(74) All of the more advanced levels of training experienced an increase in enrollment, with 70 percent of the republic's Communists studying in the higher forms of the political education system. The number of persons engaged in independent study increased twofold in comparison with the 1949 - 1950 school year. An "overwhelming majority" of propagandists had a higher, incomplete higher, or secondary education. Consolidation of kolkhozes was reported to have been an important factor in improving political study in rural areas. In former years rural political schools and circles had been set up mainly in territorial party organizations, whereas last year they were organized by the newly-formed Kolkhoz primary party organizations.(75)

In the city of Ashkhabad 7,805 persons were enrolled in the various branches of the party education system. This total included over 2,000 non-party people and 269 Komsomols. Studying independently were 1,469 persons.(76)

The Bureau of the TsK KP(b) of Turkmenistan attributed the most serious shortcomings in political study last year to the poor organization and direction of independent study. A number of students did no reading at all during the school year, individual and group consultations were rarely held, and party organizations applied insufficient pressure on those who were not studying.(75) Other deficiencies in the school system noted in the press were the poor attendance in schools and circles, poor selection of propagandists, the incidence of students abandoning study, and the inadequate measures taken by party organizations to increase the theoretical knowledge of propagandists.(74, 76)

Ukrainian SSR

More than one million Communists and nonparty people were reported to be in the party education system in the Ukrainian SSR last year.(77) The number of propagandists almost reached 57,000.(78) No breakdown of these figures is available except for Dnepropetrovsk Oblast and the city of Kiev.

In Dnepropetrovsk Oblast over 53,000 Communists and about 40,000 nonparty people and Komsomols were enrolled in the various forms of party education.(79) More than 20,000 persons, of whom 8,700 belonged to the nonparty intelligentsia, studied independently.(80)

Of the 29,000 people studying independently in Kiev, 24,000 were Communists. Two thousand consultants were assigned to direct their study. During the postwar years the Kiev Evening University of Marxism-Leninism graduated 4,550 persons. Graduates of the 1950 - 1951 school year numbered 2,000, of whom 1,300 were Communists.(81)

M. Sinitza, secretary of the Kiev City Party Committee, stated that a majority of the circles and political schools in operation in 1950 - 1951 fulfilled their study plans on time and improved the quality of study. However, he said, many schools, circles, lectures and consultations were conducted on a

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low ideological level, and during the course of the year, 195 persons dropped out of the Kiev Evening University. Sinitza was especially critical of the work of party organizations of artistic collectives -- the Union of Soviet Writers, the Union of Soviet Composers, and others. Sinitza ascribed the inadequate reflection of many aspects of Soviet life in the works of many Ukrainian intellectuals to the failure of these artists to increase their theoretical and ideological knowledge.(81)

Although the party education system in the Ukraine in 1950 - 1951 was reported to be the most successful thus far, many deficiencies in the conduct and organization of courses on all levels were pointed out in the press.(77, 79, 81) Specific targets of criticism were Zaporozh'ye and Kharkov oblasts. Zaporozh'ye party organizations were accused of formalism in assigning students to various levels of study without regard for their educational background (77), while final studies in schools and circles of Khar'kov Oblast took the form of oral examinations instead of well-organized discussion.(82)

Uzbek SSR

Ninety-five percent of the Communists in the Uzbek SSR and 58,000 nonparty active workers were in the party education system last year.(83) About 11,000 propagandists directed study in schools and circles.(84) More than 6,000 political schools and history circles and 2,000 biography circles were in operation throughout the republic.(85) Studying in the seven evening universities under the city party committees of Tashkent, Fergana, Andizhan, Bukhara, Kokand, and Samarkand were approximately 4,000 "representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia," 3,000 of them Communists.(86) The Higher Party School under the republic central committee graduated over 200 persons.(87)

At the beginning of March 1951 party education in the Uzbek SSR was reported to be in a generally poor condition. Attendance in schools and circles was irregular, students were dropping out of study, and study plans were not being fulfilled. Of the 236 first-year political schools in Tashkent Oblast, 105 had not satisfied their programs by 1 February, and 363 students had by this date abandoned study. Of the 249 first-year history circles in the oblast, only 60 had fulfilled their programs. Only 31 out of 420 second-year political schools had fulfilled their plans; 55 second-year history circles were in reality covering first-year material. The situation in Fergana Oblast was scarcely better. Of the 714 political schools and circles set up there, 265 first-year and 361 second-year schools and circles had not satisfied their study schedules.(88)

Again in April 1951 the Uzbek SSR press pointed to the poor attendance in the republic party education network, to the nonfulfillment of study plans, and to the poor quality of instruction. It revealed that a majority of political schools and circles in Syr-Dar'inskiy Rayon, Tashkent Oblast, had completely ceased functioning. In Namangan Oblast, especially in rural areas, study plans were not being followed, while the Andizhan City Committee was not conducting regular seminars for propagandists. The article also scored party organizations for their lack of control over and lack of interest in students engaged in independent study.(85) In connection with independent study, earlier in the year Bol'shevik ha' reported that over half of the Communists in various Uzbek party organizations who were registered as independent students had not begun to study by 1 January 1951.(23) In August 1951, the Uzbek press announced that because of the irregular operation of a considerable number of political schools and circles in the city of Tashkent, the school year had been extended to permit them to cover their assigned material.(89)

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Toward the end of the school year the republic press reported a number of shortcomings in the work of the Tashkent Evening University of Marxism-Leninism and its 11 affiliates. Lectures and seminars were being conducted on a low ideological plane, visual aids and literature were inadequate. Rayon committees of Tashkent were held responsible for the fact that a large number of students they had sent to study at the university had dropped out during the school year -- 29 percent of those from Kuybyshevskiy Rayon, 21 percent from Tsentral'nyy Rayon.(90) Five hundred twenty-four persons graduated from the university, and 955 passed the first-year examinations.(89)

The dissatisfaction of the TsK KP(b) of Uzbekistan with the operation of all forms of the party education system was voiced through one of its secretaries, Kh. Tursunov, at a republic conference of party, government, and newspaper officials held on 29 - 30 June 1951 to discuss ideological questions.(91) The situation with regard to the lower forms of party education was highlighted by the report in Pravda, 11 September 1951, that half of the number of political schools and circles in the Uzbek SSR did not complete their study plans in 1950 - 1951 and that a considerable number of circles broke up.

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